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TITLE: ATTITUDE OF JORDAN TO FOUR POWER TALKS									
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PRIORITY FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TO AMMAN

TELNO 4

5 JANUARY 1970

(NED)

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ADDRESSED TO AMMAN TELEGRAM NO. 4 OF 5 JANUARY REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, PARIS, MOSCOW AND SAVING TO BEIRUT, UKDEL NATO, JEDDA AND KUWAIT.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 9: MIDDLE EAST.

KING HUSSEIN RECEIVED MR. LUARD AND MR. ARTHUR TO-DAY. ARTHUR HAD PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED THE SAME SUBJECTS WITH ZAID RIFAI ON 2 JANUARY.

2. KING HUSSEIN SAID THAT THE AMERICAN DOCUMENT ON JORDAN/ISRAEL, TOGETHER WITH MR. ROGERS' SPEECH, REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT ADVANCE. BUT JORDAN COULD NOT MOVE ON HER OWN: EGYPT WOULD HAVE TO GO THROUGH THE DOOR AT THE SAME TIME. HE WAS THINKING OF GOING TO CAIRO SOON TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH PRESIDENT NASSER, WHO STILL WANTED A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. FOR JORDAN AND EGYPT THERE WAS INDEED NO REASONABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PURSUIT OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT. THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER ISRAEL WANTED. ONE.

3. USING ARGUEMENTS SIMILAR TO THOSE IN MY TELEGRAM NO. 822 OF 1969 TO CAIRO (NOT TO ALL), WE EMPHASISED THAT THE ARABS WOULD HAVE TO INDICATE THEIR READINESS TO PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE AMERICAN DOCUMENTS, IN ORDER TO PUT THE AMERICANS IN A POSITION TO LEAN ON THE ISRAELIS. THE KING SEEMED TO ACCEPT THIS ARGUEMENT. THE ONLY SPECIFIC POINT HE RAISED WAS THE THE MODIFICATIONS TO THE 1949 ARMISTICE LINE SHOULD BE "RECIPROCAL". WE SAID THAT WE THOUGHT THE JORDANIANS WOULD BE UNWISE TO INSIST ON THE INSERTION OF THAT WORD IN ANY FORMULATION ON THE BOUNDARY.

4. THE KING ASKED ABOUT A DOCUMENT ON ISRAEL/SYRIA. ALTHOUGH THE SYRAINS HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, THEY WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO COME IN ON A SETTELEMENT WHICH PROVIDED

/FOR ISRAELI

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FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. WE REMINDED THE KING THAT THE ARABS WOULD HAVE TO AGREE ON SOMETHING BEFORE PROGRESS COULD BE MADE AND ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT THAT THE SYRIANS WOULD EVER AGREE IN ADVANCE ON ANYTHING AT ALL. THE KING RECOGNISED WITH A SMILE THAT THEY WOULD NOT. WE SUGGESTED THAT IN THAT CASE IT WOULD BE IN JORDAN'S INTEREST TO LEAVE THEM OUT FOR THE TIME BEING.

5. THE KING FINALLY SUGGESTED THAT H.M.G. SHOULD SUPPORT THE AMERICAN POSITION IN CAIRO. WE SAID THAT WE HAD SPOKEN TO THE EGYPTIANS BOTH BEFORE AND SINCE RABAT IN MUCH THE SAME SENSE AS WE HAD SPOKEN TO HIM.

STEWART

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PRIORITY AMMAN

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NO. 19

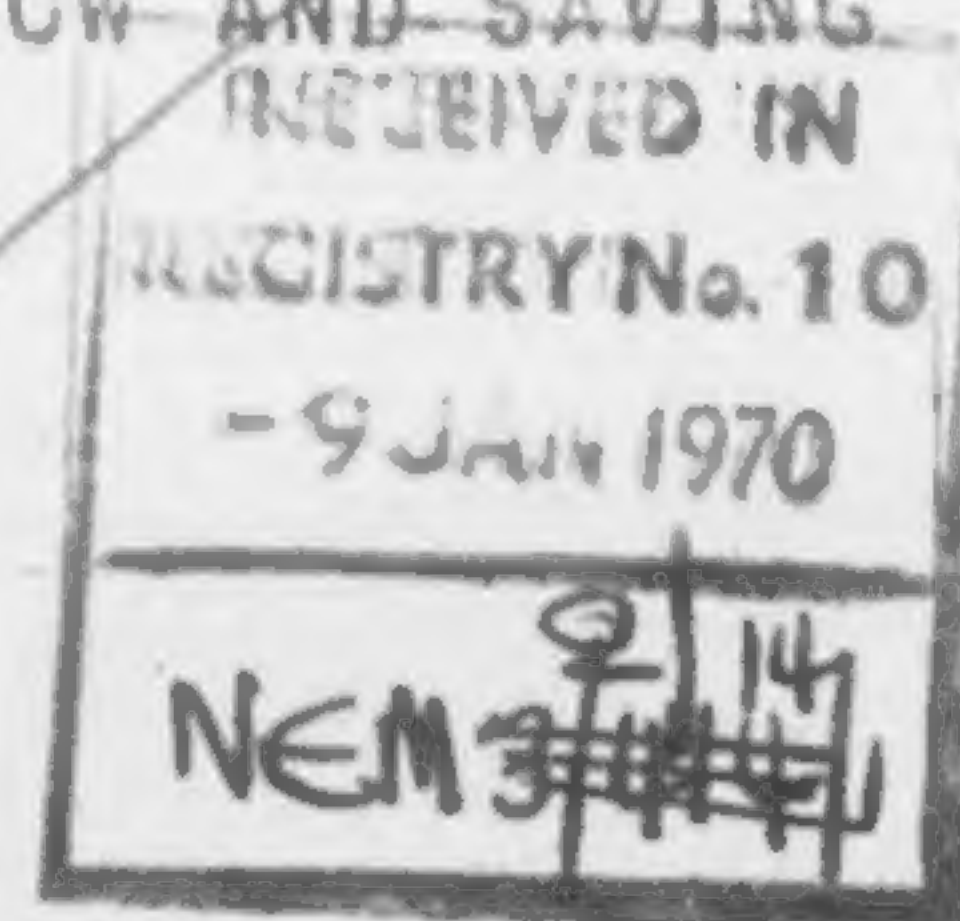
8 JANUARY 1970

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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 18 OF 8 JANUARY RFI UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, BEIRUT, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, PARIS, MOSCOW AND SAVING TO UKDEL NATO, JEDDA AND KUWAIT.

MY TELNO 9 AND YOUR TELNO 4: MIDDLE EAST.



I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY OF A GENERAL TALK WITH THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING TO SPEAK AS MR. LUARD AND MR. ARTHUR HAD SPOKEN TO KING HUSSEIN.

2. ABDUL MUNIM RIFAI SAID THAT THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT STILL HAD THE AMERICAN DOCUMENT UNDER DISCUSSION AND THAT THEY WERE HOPING SHORTLY TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH THE EGYPTIANS. HE WAS ADVISING AGAINST KING HUSSEIN'S GOING TO CAIRO AT THIS STAGE BUT THOUGHT HE MIGHT GO HIMSELF.

3. RIFAI INDICATED THAT THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT EXPECTED A BRITISH PAPER TO BE PRODUCED OR THAT WE SHOULD AT LEAST ATTEMPT A BRIDGING OPERATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND OTHER PROPOSALS NOW ON THE FOUR POWER TABLE. HE ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE LOGICAL AND USEFUL FOR US TO PUT FORWARD OUR OWN PROPOSALS BOTH BECAUSE AS AUTHORS OF RESOLUTION 242 WE WERE IN THE STRONGEST POSITION TO SAY WHAT IT MEANT AND BECAUSE THE RUSSIANS WERE BOUND ON PRINCIPLE TO REJECT ANY PROPOSALS COMING FROM THE U.S. ALMOST THE SAME PROPOSALS IN A BRITISH PAPER WOULD STAND A BETTER CHANCE OF SOVIET ACCEPTANCE.

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4. I TOLD THE MINISTER THAT WE THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS QUITE ENOUGH PAPER ON THE TABLE ALREADY AND MADE AS STRONGLY AS I COULD THE POINT THAT IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE ARABS TO GO ALONG WITH THE AMERICAN DOCUMENTS IF AMERICAN LEANING ON THE ISRAELIS WAS EVER TO BE EFFECTIVE. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD GIVE WEIGHT TO THIS ARGUMENT IN HIS TALKS WITH THE EGYPTIANS.

5. I FOUND RIFAI MORE THAN USUALLY DEPRESSED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT JARRING WOULD ACHIEVE ANYTHING WHATEVER BRIEF HE WAS GIVEN. THE CURRENT MILITARY ESCALATION IS OF COURSE CAUSING CONCERN TO THE JORDANIANS AND THE NEWS THAT THE

LEBANESE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF HAS BEEN REMOVED MADE RIFAI FEAR INCREASING TROUBLE BETWEEN ARAB REGIMES AND THE FEDAYEEN. BUT HE APPEARED TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT ANY PROGRESS THAT RESULTED FROM THE FOUR POWER TALKS WOULD BE SLOW AND, TO BEGIN WITH, LIMITED IN SCOPE.

FCO PASS PRIORITY TO UKMIS NEW YORK AND ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, PARIS, MOSCOW AND SAVING TO UKDEL NATO, JEDDA, KUWAIT.

SIR P. ADAMS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]
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(FOR SIR R. HOOPER)]

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PRIORITY CAIRO TO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 108

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
19 JANUARY 1970

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ADDSD TO FCO TELNO. 108 DATED 19/1/70 AND TO AMMAN, TEL AVIV,
WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK
REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO PARIS AND MOSCOW.
REPEATED SAVING TO BEIRUT.

RECEIVED IN
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I CALLED ON JORDAN FOREIGN MINISTER IN HIS HOTEL ON 17TH JANUARY.

2. IN THE COURSE OF CONVERSATION MR. RIFAI SAID HE WAS CO-ORDINATING WITH HIS U.A.R. OPPOSITE NUMBER THE ATTITUDE OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS IN RESPECT OF JORDAN AND THE UAR. IN CONNECTION WITH THE JORDAN PROPOSALS HE SAID A REPLY MIGHT BE MADE SOON AFTER HIS RETURN TO AMMAN WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE ON 20TH JANUARY. ON THE NATURE OF THE REPLY HE WAS (NATURALLY) CAGEY BUT SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE POSITIVE IN GENERAL THOUGH THERE WERE SPECIFIC AMERICAN PROPOSALS WHICH COULD NOT BE ACCEPTED. HE SAID THAT BOTH THE UAR AND JORDAN STILL DESIRED A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ON THE LINES OF RESOLUTION 242. THEY WERE NOT TO BE DIVIDED.

3. MR. RIFAI SPOKE IN HIS USUAL GENERALISED WAY BUT, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE GIST OF THE BALANCE OF OUR CONVERSATION WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE WERE TWO QUESTIONS ON WHICH THE ARABS MIGHT SEEK PRELIMINARY ELUCIDATION FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT:

(A) WHAT ASSURANCE HAD THEY THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD PERSUADE ISRAEL TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS ?

(B) WERE THE PROPOSALS REALLY ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS AS THE UNITED STATES SIDE HAD SUBSEQUENTLY SAID ?

4. ON (A) ABOVE, MR. RIFAI OBSERVED IT WAS RELEVANT TO NOTE THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAD PUBLICLY REJECTED THE PROPOSALS AND HAD ACCOMPANIED THIS REJECTION BY WHAT WERE "TERRORIST" BOMBARDMENTS ON TARGETS IN JORDAN AND THE UAR

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WITH POLITICAL AIMS. IF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WERE IN FACT ABLE TO "PRODUCE" ISRAEL, ONE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED THEM TO HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT ABILITY BY INDUCING THE ISRAELIS TO MODERATE HOSTILITIES WHILE THE PROPOSALS WERE BEING STUDIED. IN SHORT, IT STILL REMAINED TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EITHER COULD DELIVER THE ISRAELIS OR WANTED TO DO SO.

5. ON (B) THERE WERE ASPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS WHICH JORDAN (SITUATED AS IT WAS) SIMPLY COULD NOT AFFORD TO ACCEPT - LOSS OF TERRITORY WAS ONE. THERE WAS ALSO THE FACT THAT THERE WERE ALSO OTHER PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE (RUSSIAN AND FRENCH). IT STILL REMAINED TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS WERE AN ATTEMPTED DIKTAT OR WERE A SERIOUS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

6. ARISING OUT OF BOTH OF THESE TWO CONSIDERATIONS, MR. RIFAI SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE ARABS TO BE SURE THAT THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS WOULD NOT BE USED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AS THE THIN END OF THE WEDGE - A DEVICE BY WHICH THE UAR AND JORDAN WOULD BE BROUGHT INTO DISCUSSIONS ONLY TO DISCOVER THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT COULD NOT OR WOULD NOT CARRY THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT AND THEREFORE INSISTED ON FURTHER CONCESSIONS FROM THE ARAB SIDE GOING WELL BEYOND THOSE LAID DOWN IN RESOLUTION 242.

FCO PLEASE PASS PRIORITY TO AMMAN, WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEWYORK AND ROUTINE TO PARIS AND MOSCOW.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO BEIRUT.

SIR R. BEAUMONT

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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PRIORITY FROM AMMAN
TELEGRAM NO 70

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
11 FEBRUARY 1970

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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 70 OF 11 FEBRUARY REPEATED FOR
INFORMATION PRIORITY TO UKMIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.
ROUTINE TO TEL AVIV, CAIRO, PARIS AND MOSCOW.
SAVING TO BEIRUT.

MY TELEGRAM NO 42: MIDDLE EAST - AMERICAN PROPOSALS.
MY U.S. COLLEAGUE HAS GIVEN ME AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SERIES
OF TALKS WITH JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IN WHICH THE
LATTER HAD ASKED FOR QUOTE CLARIFICATION UNQUOTE OF
CERTAIN POINTS IN THE U.S. PAPER. SYMMES SAID HE THOUGHT
THESE HAD GONE REASONABLY WELL ALTHOUGH RIFAI HAD NOT
BEEN ABLE TO GRASP THE POINT THAT THE AMERICANS JUDGED THAT,
IN PRESENTING THESE PROPOSALS, THEY HAD GONE AS FAR
AS THEY POSSIBLY COULD TO MEET ARAB REQUIREMENTS
WHILE PRESERVING SOME HOPE OF BEING ABLE TO DELIVER THE
ISRAELIS.

CSM
12/14
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2. DISCUSSION HAD LARGELY CONCERNED THE PROVISIONS FOR
GAZA AND JERUSALEM. ON THE FORMER RIFAI HAD FIRST OBJECTED
TO THE REFERENCE TO THE NEED FOR AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL
(ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS WAS AN INTER-ARAB PROBLEM) BUT
SEEMED LATER TO ACCEPT THE AMERICAN VIEW. AS TO JERUSALEM,
HE WAS STILL PRESSING FOR A CLEAR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION
QUOTE DOES THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL APPLY ? UNQUOTE.
SYMMES SAID HIS INSTRUCTIONS ENABLED HIM TO SAY ONLY THAT
NOTHING IN THE PROPOSALS ON JERUSALEM EXCLUDED APPLICATION OF
THE PRINCIPLE, AND HE TOLD ME IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT HE
HAD BEEN AUTHORISED TO SAY (UNDERLINE NEXT TWO WORDS)
INTER ALIA THAT THE U.S. GOVT. ENVISAGED JORDANIAN
ADMINISTRATION IN THE ARAB PART OF THE CITY.

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3. I LATER HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF ASKING RIFAI WHETHER HE HAD FOUND THESE CONTACTS REASSURING. HIS ANSWER WAS QUOTE NOT AT ALL: THEY ARE USELESS UNQUOTE. HE SAID THAT FAR TOO MUCH WAS LEFT FOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES WHOSE POSITIONS WERE WELL-KNOWN TO BE MILES APART. HE THEN WENT TO THE POINT OF WITHDRAWAL AND JERUSALEM AND SAID THAT UNLESS THE JORDANIANS GOT A CLEAR AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER TO THEIR QUESTION THEY (AND THE EGYPTIANS) COULD NOT CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE WITH THE AMERICANS -NOR, HE IMPLIED, WITH JARRING. I ARGUED AT SOME LENGTH THAT THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS ON JERUSALEM, AS I UNDERSTOOD THEM, DESERVED VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BY THE ARABS, AND THAT IT WOULD BE TACTICALLY UNWISE FOR THEM TO TURN DOWN WHAT LOOKED LIKE THE BEST HOPE OF GETTING THE AMERICANS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE IN ISRAELI.

4. I WAS THEN TREATED TO A LONG TIRADE ON THE CYNICISM OF THE AMERICANS AND THE THESIS THAT IF THEY WANTED PEACE IN THE AREA THEY WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO SUPPLY OFFENSIVE WEAPONS TO ISRAEL SO LONG AS SHE WAS STILL IN OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES.

5. RIFAI HAS, OF COURSE, ALWAYS BEEN A HARD-LINER ON QUOTE WITHDRAWAL UNQUOTE AND IT WAS NO NEWS TO HEAR THAT THE ARABS MAKE SATISFACTION ON JERUSALEM A (UNDERLINE NEXT THREE WORDS) SIN QUA NON FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE REST OF THE PACKAGE. MOREOVER, THE MINISTER WAS EXHAUSTED AND DEPRESSED. I CONCLUDE THAT THE JORDANIANS WILL NOT TAKE PUBLICLY A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO THE U.S. PROPOSALS AT THIS STAGE, BUT THAT IF THE AMERICANS ANNOUNCE A NEW PHANTOM DEAL THEY ARE ALMOST BOUND TO. BUT I HEARD NOTHING TO SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT GIVEN A LITTLE TIME, THE ARABS WILL COME ROUND TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE AMERICAN INTERPRETATION OF RESOLUTION 242.

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AMMAN TELNO. 70 TO F.C.O.

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F.C.O. PLEASE PASS PRIORITY TO U.K.MIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON
ROUTINE TO PARIS AND MOSCOW SAVING TO BEIRUT.

SIR P. ADAMS [REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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PRIORITY FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TO WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NO 392

13 FEBRUARY 1970

(NE)

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GUARD

ADDRESSED TO WASHINGTON TELEGRAM NO. 392 OF 13 FEBRUARY REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO LHMIS NEW YORK, AMMAN, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, MOSCOW PARIS AND SAVING TO BEIRUT.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 436 : MIDDLE EAST.

THE U.S. EMBASSY HAVE GIVEN ARTHUR AN ACCOUNT OF TWO MEETINGS WHICH THE U.S. AMBASSADOR AT AMMAN HAD WITH THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND KING HUSSEIN ON 10 AND 11 FEBRUARY RESPECTIVELY.

2. RIFAI TOLD SYMMES THAT KING HUSSEIN'S EFFORTS IN CAIRO TO GET A FAVOURABLE RESPONSE FROM THE EGYPTIANS TO THE U.S. PROPOSALS HAD PROVED FRUITLESS. NASSER HAD SAID THAT HE SAW THREE MAIN OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ACCEPTING THESE PROPOSALS. THE FIRST, AND MOST IMPORTANT, WAS THE FORMULATION ON JERUSALEM. NASSER HAD SAID THAT HE COULD ACCEPT WHATEVER HUSSEIN ACCEPTED ON THIS: BUT HE DID NOT SEE HOW HUSSEIN COULD ACCEPT AN ISRAELI QUOTE PRESENCE UNQUOTE IN EAST JERUSALEM (IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS MEANT SIMPLY A MILITARY PRESENCE OR APPLIED TO A PRESENCE OF ANY KIND). THE SECOND OBSTACLE WAS THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS SYRIA. NASSER ASKED WHY THE AMERICANS COULD NOT SIMPLY STATE THAT THE PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN THEIR TWO SETS OF PROPOSALS APPLIED EQUALLY TO SYRIA. THE THIRD OBSTACLE WAS THE QUESTION OF PROCEDURE. NASSER HAD SAID THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT EITHER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS OR THE RHODES FORMULA.

3. HUSSEIN HAD TOLD SYMMES THAT NEITHER HE NOR NASSER COULD ACCEPT ANY PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT UNTIL THE CURRENT SERIES OF ISRAELI RAIDS ON THE U.A.R. HAD STOPPED AND UNTIL THEY KNEW THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT MAKE A NEW ARMS DEAL WITH ISRAEL. HE HAD SAID THAT IF THE AMERICANS DID MAKE SUCH A DEAL, ALL PROSPECTS OF ARAB ACCEPTANCE OF AMERICAN PROPOSALS WOULD DISAPPEAR.

4. WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL KEEP CLOSELY IN TOUCH WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON THIS SUBJECT AND THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN FROM THEM A FULLER ACCOUNT OF THE JORDANIAN/AMERICAN DIALOGUE THAN WE HAVE HAD HITHERTO.

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5. WE WERE INTERESTED TO READ THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 2 OF AMMAN TELEGRAM NUMBER 72. AT FIRST SIGHT, THIS APPEARS TO CONFLICT WITH WAHL'S STATEMENT REPORTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF YOUR TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ARE UNABLE TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN THEIR DIALOGUE WITH THE JORDANIANS ON MATTERS WHICH THEIR PROGOALS DELIBERATELY LEAVE OPEN FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES. WE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VIEW (WITHOUT CONSULTING THE STATE DEPARTMENT) WHETHER YOU THINK THE AUTHORITY GIVEN TO SYNES REPRESENTS A SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY. OUR UNDERSTANDING IN THE PAST HAS BEEN THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE TALKED ABOUT THE FUTURE ADMINISTRATION OF JERUSALEM WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WHAT MIGHT BE DECIDED ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY. BUT THE CONCEPT OF JORDANIAN ADMINISTRATION SEEMS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH ANY SOVEREIGNTY OTHER THAN JORDANIAN.

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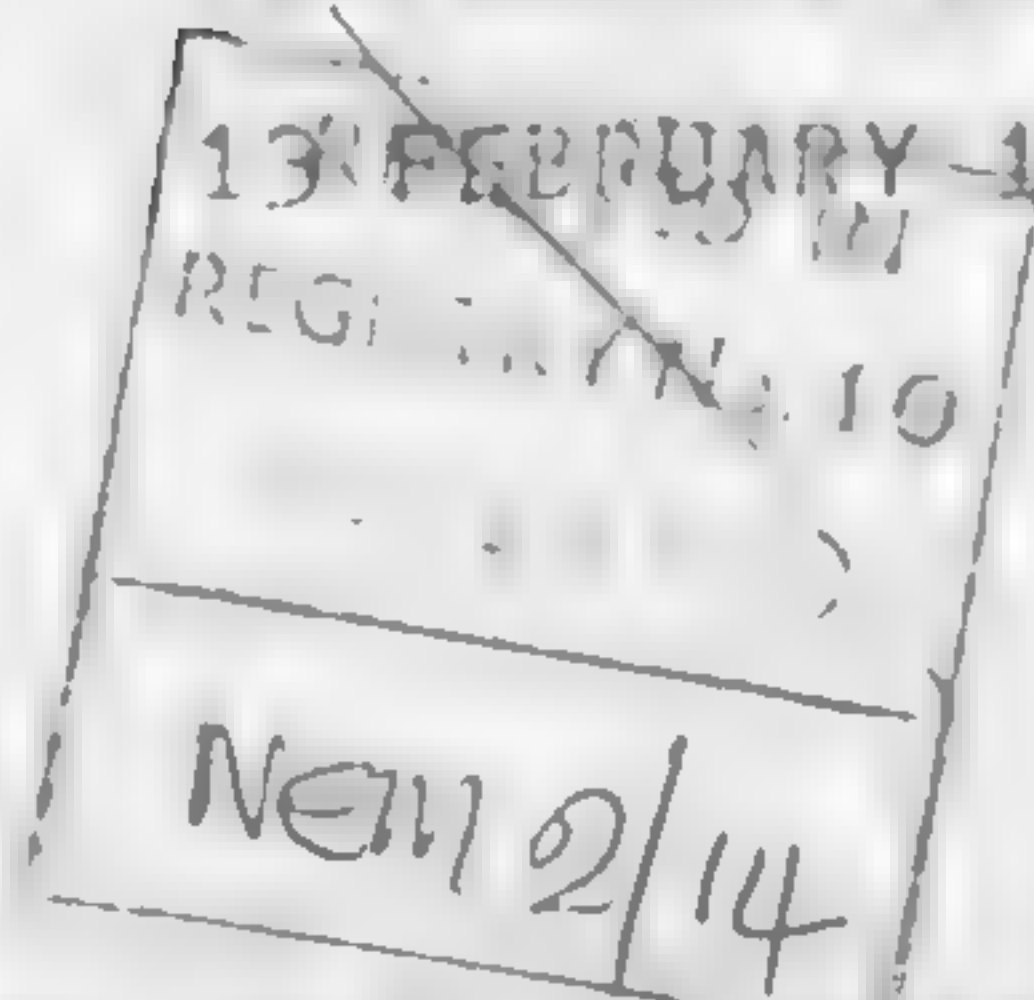
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ROUTINE FROM AMMAN

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NO 78



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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 78 OF 13 FEBRUARY REPEATED FOR
INFORMATION TO UKHIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, TEL AVIV,
CAIRO, PARIS AND MOSCOW. SAVING TO BEIRUT.

MY TELEGRAM NO 78 PARA. 3: MIDDLE EAST - AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

MY US COLLEAGUE HAS TOLD ME IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT HE
HAS INFORMED THE JORDANIANS, ON INSTRUCTIONS, THAT HIS
GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT A SETTLEMENT INVOLVING, ON
JERUSALEM:

- (A) NO PHYSICAL SEPERATION OF ISRAELI AND ARAB PARTS.,
- (B) NO RISTRATION OF ACCESS OF CHRISTIANS, JEWS OR
MUSLIMS TO THEIR HOLY PLACES.,
- (C) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR ARABS AND
ISRAELIS EACH IN THEIR SECTOR (THIS SEEMS TO AMOUNT VIRTUALLY
TO QUOTE ADMINISTRATION UNQUOTE)., AND
- (D) NO RECOGNITION OF UNILATERAL ADMINISTRATIVE CHANCES.

2. JORDANIANS ARE STILL TAKING THE LINE THAT THESE
PROPOSALS ARE NOT AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE TO A STRAIGHT
AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER TO THEIR QUESTION ON WITHDRAWAL.

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FCO PASS UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND PARIS,
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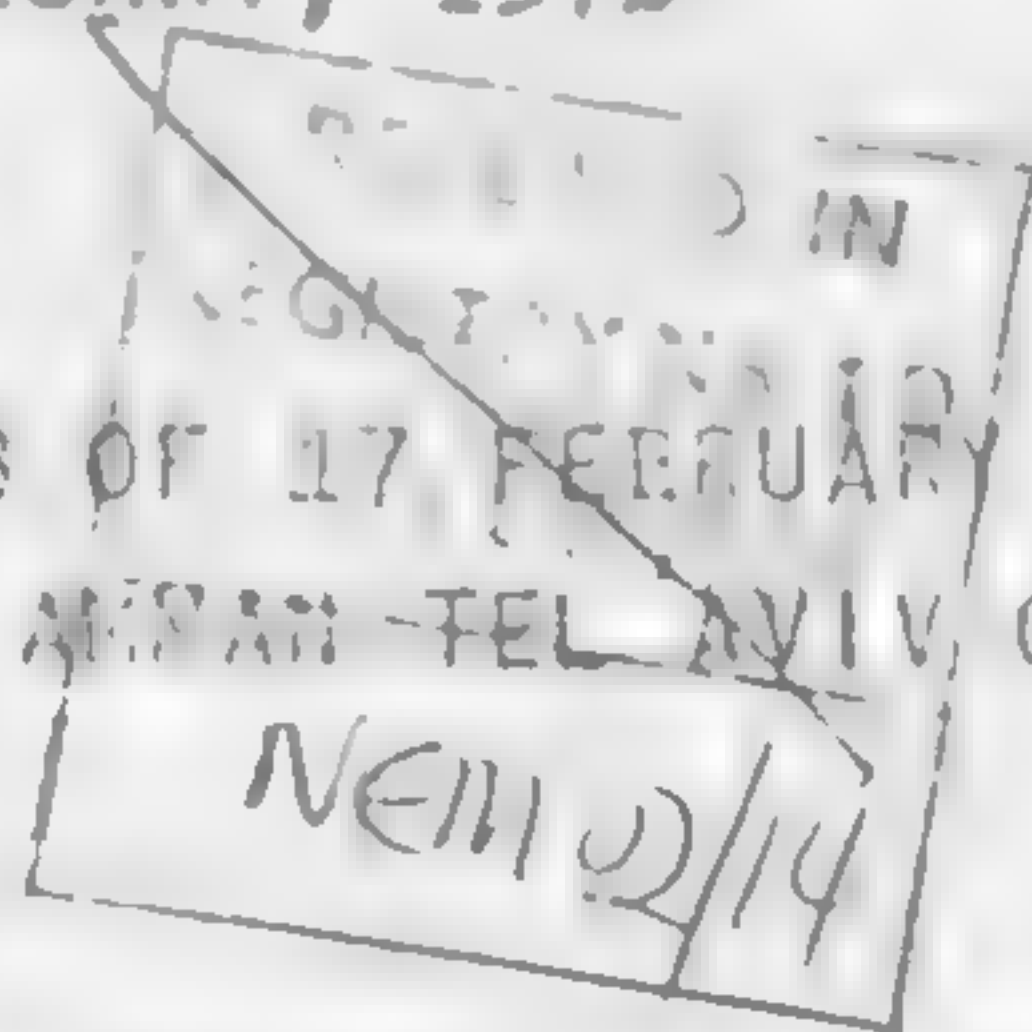
IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON
TELEGRAM NO 483

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TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
17 FEBRUARY, 1950

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ADDRESSED TO F C O TELEGRAM NO 483 OF 17 FEBRUARY REPEATED
FOR INFORMATION TO UNITS NEW YORK AMMAN TEL AVIV CAIRO PARIS
MOSCOW AND SAIGON TO BEIRUT.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 392: MIDDLE EAST.



WHILE COMPARING NOTES WITH ATHERTON TODAY ABOUT THE CURRENT
SITUATION, THE COUNSELLOR ASKED ATHERTON ABOUT THE LATEST
EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE U.S. AMBASSADOR IN AMMAN AND THE
JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON THE TWO U.S. PAPERS. ATHERTON
CONFIRMED THAT IN THEIR COMMENTS THE JORDANIANS HAD FOCUSED
PRINCIPALLY ON JERUSALEM. RIFAI HAD ASKED WHETHER THE AMERICAN
FORMULATION MEANT THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD WITHDRAW FROM EAST
JERUSALEM, AND HE HAD URGED THAT AT THE VERY LEAST THE AMERICANS
SHOULD SAY THAT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM EAST JERUSALEM WAS
NOT EXCLUDED.

2. ATHERTON COMMENTED THAT THIS WAS THE KIND OF PRECISION WHICH
THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WERE UNWILLING TO GIVE SINCE NOTHING SHORT
OF ARMED FORCE WAS LIKELY TO GET THE ISRAELIS OUT OF EAST
JERUSALEM. THE STATE DEPARTMENT PREFERRED, THEREFORE, TO THINK
IN TERMS OF GETTING THE JORDANIANS IN AS BEING MORE REALISTIC THAN
THE CONCEPT OF GETTING THE ISRAELIS OUT. SYMMES HAD ACCORDINGLY
BEEN AUTHORISED TO REPLY TO RIFAI SAYING THAT IN THE U.S. VIEW
THE ONLY THINGS WITH REGARD TO JERUSALEM WHICH WERE EXCLUDED
WERE:

(A) A REDIVISION OF THE CITY;

(B) THE REFUSAL OF FREE ACCESS TO THE CITY;

(C) THE DENIAL TO JORDAN OF ANY ROLE IN EAST JERUSALEM.

ATHERTON DID NOT SPECIFY WHAT KIND OF ROLE THE JORDANIANS
MIGHT HAVE. HE DID SAY THAT WHEN, ON 4 FEBRUARY, THIS REPLY
WAS GIVEN TO RIFAI, THE LATTER HAD NOT SEEMED AT ALL CONCERNED

/AT

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AT LEAVING THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OPEN THOUGH HE HAD CONTINUED TO STRESS THE NEED FOR MORE PRECISION ABOUT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM EAST JERUSALEM. THE IMPLICATION OF WHAT ATHERTON SAID WAS THAT THE AUTHORITY GIVEN TO SYMMES TO PUT FORWARD THESE EXCLUSIONS WAS NOT REGARDED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT AS BEING A SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY, BUT RATHER AS AN EXPLANATION OR AMPLIFICATION OF THEIR EXISTING FORMULATIONS OF JERUSALEM, STILL AVOIDING THE PRECISION ON WITHDRAWAL WHICH THEY FEEL THEY CANNOT GIVE. IT DID NOT SEEM FROM THE WAY ATHERTON PUT ALL THIS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WERE NECESSARILY THINKING IN TERMS OF A SECTION OF THE CITY BEING SOLELY UNDER JORDANIAN ADMINISTRATION, AND IT WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT THIS CLARIFICATION WHICH SYMMES HAD BEEN AUTHORISED TO GIVE WAS NOT INTENDED TO PREJUDGE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER WHAT MIGHT BE DECIDED ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY. ATHERTON SAID THAT THE WORD "SOVEREIGNTY" HAD NOT ARISEN IN SYMMES' CONVERSATIONS WITH RIFAI ABOUT JERUSALEM.

3. ATHERTON SAID THAT SYMMES HAD HAD A FURTHER TALK WITH RIFAI ON 19 FEBRUARY AFTER THE CAIRO SUMMIT MEETING. RIFAI HAD SAID HE HAD NOT GOT FAR IN SELLING THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS TO THE EGYPTIANS ON THE BASIS OF THE CLARIFICATIONS GIVEN TO HIM BY THE AMERICANS UP TILL THEN ON JERUSALEM, SYRIA AND NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES. HE CLAIMED THAT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OF EAST JERUSALEM REMAINED THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION, AND THAT THE CLARIFICATION GIVEN BY SYMMES ON 4 FEBRUARY WAS INADEQUATE. WITH REGARD TO SYRIA, RIFAI SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE AMERICANS TO STATE THAT SYRIA WOULD GET THE SAME DEAL AS THE UAR AND JORDAN IF THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. ATHERTON COMMENTED THAT THE AMERICANS HAD ALREADY GIVEN SUCH AN ASSURANCE INDIRECTLY IN MR ROGERS' SPEECH OF 9 DECEMBER IN WHICH HE HAD IMPLIED THAT THE SAME PRINCIPLES WOULD APPLY TO

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WASHINGTON TELEGRAM NO. 483 TO F.C.O.

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ALL STATES WHICH ACCEPTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. RIFAI HAD GRUDGINGLY ADMITTED THAT MR ROGERS' SPEECH MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT FOR JORDAN, IMPLYING THAT THE UAR WOULD TAKE A MORE DOCTRINAIRE VIEW.

4. ON NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES, RIFAI HAD GIVEN AN OBSCURE ACCOUNT OF NASSER'S THINKING. AT ONE POINT, HE HAD SAID THAT EVEN IF SATISFACTION WAS ACHIEVED ON ALL OTHER MATTERS, NASSER WOULD NOT SIT DOWN WITH THE ISRAELIS. WHEN SYMMES HAD ASKED WHETHER THIS MEANT THAT NASSER WOULD NOT DO SO AT ANY STAGE, RIFAI GAVE A RAMBLING AND CONTRADICTIONARY REPLY, EMPHASISING HOWEVER THAT THE WORD "RHODES" MUST BE ELIMINATED FROM ANY PROCEDURAL FORMULA. ON THE OTHER HAND KING HUSSEIN WITH WHOM SYMMES HAD DISCUSSED THESE MATTERS ON 11 FEBRUARY, SAID THAT IF JARRING GOT BACK INTO BUSINESS, IT WAS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT DEVELOP. SUBSEQUENTLY ATHERTON TELEPHONED TO MODIFY THE ACCOUNT WHICH SISCO HAD GIVEN THE MINISTER OF THE LINK MADE BY NASSER BETWEEN WITHDRAWAL AND NEGOTIATION (MY TELEGRAM NO 456). ATHERTON EXPLAINED THAT THE REPORT SISCO HAD IN MIND CAME NOT FROM THE JORDANIANS BUT FROM AN OTHER SOURCE CLOSE TO NASSER. ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE NASSER HAD SAID AT THE TIME OF THE CAIRO SUMMIT THAT THERE COULD BE NO NEGOTIATION WITH THE ISRAELIS WHILE THE LATTER REMAINED IN OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORY SO LONG AS THEY HAD NOT ACCEPTED ANY TIME-TABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL. THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT THE DECISIVE FACTOR WOULD BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TIMETABLE NOT THE WITHDRAWAL ITSELF.

5. ATHERTON CONFIRMED THAT ACCORDING TO THE JORDANIANS IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE EGYPTIANS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE TWO AMERICAN PAPERS OR TO ENTER INTO ANY FORM OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WHILE THE ISRAELIS CONTINUED TO GO DEEP INTO UAR TERRITORY AND WHILE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S. MEETING THE ISRAELI REQUEST FOR FURTHER MILITARY AIRCRAFT REMAINED OPEN.

6. SINCE 11 FEBRUARY, ATHERTON SAID, THERE HAD BEEN NO FURTHER
/EXCHANGES

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EXCHANGES ON THE U.S. PAPERS BETWEEN SYMPES AND THE JORDANIANS. 7. NOBERLY ASKED ATHERTON WHETHER THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD YET FORMED ANY VIEW OF THE FRENCH DRAFT FOR A FOUR-POWER CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE (UKNIS NEW YORK TELEGRAM NO 333 TO F C O). ATHERTON REPLIED THAT THE MATTER WAS STILL UNDER REVIEW BUT THAT THE INITIAL REACTION IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT OFFICIAL LEVEL WAS THAT THERE WERE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE FRENCH DRAFT WHICH IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO GO ALONG WITH. MORE SPECIFICALLY, HE SAID IT OMITTED ANYTHING WHICH COULD BE REGARDED AS EVEN AN INDIRECT OBLIGATION TO CONTROL THE FEDAYEEN, WHEREAS THIS HAD BEEN A POINT OF IMPORTANCE IN THE AMERICAN DRAFT. SECONDLY, THEY WERE NOT VERY HAPPY ABOUT THE WAY IN WHICH THE THRUST OF THE APPEAL HAD BEEN REVERSED IN THE FRENCH DRAFT TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THE FOUR-POWER TALKS OVER THE CEASEFIRE APPEAL. THE STATE DEPARTMENT WERE CONCERNED THAT THE FRENCH MIGHT USE THEIR LANGUAGE AS FURTHER LEVERAGE TO PULL THE FOUR-POWERS INTO A DRAFTING SESSION. ATHERTON STRESSED THAT THESE WERE INITIAL IMPRESSIONS AND THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WOULD CERTAINLY NOT WISH TO GIVE A WHOLLY NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH. THEY HOPED THAT BY SOME ADJUSTMENT ON BOTH SIDES, COMPROMISE WORDING MIGHT BE FOUND.

F C O PASS PRIORITY AMMAN TEL AVIV CAIRO PARIS MOSCOW AND SAVING BEIRUT.

MR FREEMAN.

/REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

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MY TELEGRAM NO. 357: MIDDLE EAST.

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CYPHER CAT A

PRIORITY AMMAN

TELEGRAM NO 121

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

10 MARCH 1970

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ADDRESSED TO FCO TEL NO 121 DATED 10/3 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION
TO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK ROUTINE BEIRUT TEL AVIV WASHINGTON
PARIS AND MOSCOW.

MIPT (NOT TO ALL): MIDDLE EAST.

NEM 2/14

I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO TELL KING HUSSEIN ABOUT THE VIEWS
ON WITHDRAWAL AND BOUNDARIES EXPRESSED BY LORD CARADON AT THE
5 MARCH MEETING AS AUTHORISED IN YOUR TEL NO 266 TO CAIRO. I
ADDED THAT LORD CARADON HAD MADE THESE POINTS BEFORE, THAT HE
HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE BUSINESS-LIKE ATMOSPHERE AT THE LATEST
MEETING AND THAT H.M.G. WOULD WORK HARD TO KEEP UP THE NEW
MOMENTUM.

NEM 2/11

2. THE KING SEEMED GLAD TO HEAR THIS. HE SAID HE HAD JUST
HAD A RATHER ENCOURAGING ACCOUNT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS FROM
MY SOVIET COLLEAGUE (WHO HAD HAD AN UNUSUALLY LONG AUDIENCE
ATTENDED, IN PART, BY THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER).

FCO PASS UKMIS NEW YORK WASHINGTON PARIS AND MOSCOW.

pe-UK 193

SIR P ADAMS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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CYTHET/CAT A

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PRIORITY AMMAN

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NO 123

12 MARCH 1970

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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 123 OF 12 MARCH REPEATED FOR
INFORMATION PRIORITY TO UKHIS NEW YORK, ROUTINE TO BEIRUT,
CAIRO, TEL AVIV, WASHINGTON, PARIS AND MOSCOW.

MY TEL NO 121: MIDDLE EAST.

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SECRETARY GENERAL
MEMO 2/14

JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING CONFIRMED TO ME
THAT HE HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S AUDIENCE
ON 10 MARCH AND SAID THAT MY COLLEAGUE HAD ASKED ON INSTRUCTIONS
FOR A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE JORDANIAN POSITION ON QUOTE
WITHDRAWAL UNQUOTE. RIFAI SAID HE HAD HEARD FROM CAIRO THAT
VINOGRADOV HAD DISCUSSED THE SAME SUBJECT DURING HIS RECENT
VISIT TO THE UAR.

2. THE MINISTER SAID THAT HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT, IN THE
JORDANIAN VIEW, WITHDRAWAL MEANT THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ISRAELI
TROOPS TO BEHIND THE LINES WHICH HAD EXISTED ON 4 JUNE 1967.
IF THAT PRINCIPLE WAS ACCEPTED, JORDAN WOULD AGREE THAT THE
SECURE AND RECOGNISED BOUNDARIES WOULD BE THE 1949 LINES, WHICH
COULD BE SUBJECT TO MINOR RECTIFICATIONS (PROVIDED THAT THESE
WERE NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF ONE PARTY ONLY). THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR
HAD SAID THAT THIS WAS THE POSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT ALSO.

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/ 3. I THEN TOLD

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3. I THEN TOLD THE MINISTER OF THE STATEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL MADE BY LORD CARADON ON 5 MARCH AND HE COMMENTED THAT OUR POSITION SEEMED TO BE VERY CLOSE TO THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. IT WAS A PITY THAT THE AMERICANS WERE STILL REFUSING TO MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT ON THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL TO JERUSALEM. I URGED HIM NOT TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF THAT, AFTER ALL, JARRING WOULD NOT BE OPERATING ON AN AMERICAN BUT ON A FOUR - POWER BRIEF, AND IT LOOKED AT THE MOMENT AS THOUGH SOMETHING ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS ON WITHDRAWAL MIGHT WELL EMERGE FROM THE FOUR. RIFAI SEEMED TO ACCEPT THIS.

4. PLEASE REPEAT MY TEL UNDER REFERENCE TO CAIRO.

ECO PASS PRIORITY TO UKMIS NEW YORK ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON, PARIS AND MOSCOW.

SIR P ADAMS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED].

[ACTION TAKEN BY COMMS DEPT QUERY SECTION
RE PARAGRAPH 4 REQUEST].

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TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICES
12 MARCH 1970

TOP COPY

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 13 MAR 1970 NEM 2/14

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 124 OF 12 MARCH REPEATED FOR INFO
TO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK, ROUTINE CAIRO, TEL AVIV, WASHINGTON,
PARIS, MOSCOW AND BEIRUT.

UKMIS NEW YORK TELEGRAM NO 539:

MIDDLE EAST - FOUR POWER TALKS.

IN REVIEWING FORMULATIONS ABOUT PEACE AND WITHDRAWAL I
HOPE THAT THE POINT ABOUT CONTROL OF THE FEDAYEEN MADE IN MY
TELEGRAM NO 59 CAN BE KEPT IN MIND.

2. JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TODAY MADE TO ME WITH EMPHASIS
THE POINT THAT SPELLING OUT ARAB GOVERNMENTS' OBLIGATIONS AT THIS
STAGE WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO THE EXTENT
THAT IT WOULD ENCOURAGE FEDAYEEN RESISTANCE. RIFAI SAID THAT
ARAB GOVERNMENTS RECOGNISED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT
OBLIGATIONS IN THIS SENSE IN THE CONTEXT OF A SETTLEMENT BUT
THAT EXPERIENCE SHOWED THAT THE FEDAYEEN WERE EASIER TO CONTAIN
IF HANDLED GENTLY (C.F. PARA 5 OF YOUR TELEGRAM NO 178 TO UKMIS
NEW YORK).

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/ FCO PASS

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FCO PASS IMMEDIATE TO UKMIS NEW YORK, ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON.
PARIS AND MOSCOW.

SIR P ADAMS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED].

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 27 APR 1970 NEM 2/14

LAST PAPER

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

22 April 1970.

Dear Father,

Arab-Israel.

Mr. Fopp
24.4
M. Evans
R.E.
24/4

Thank you for your letter of 13 April about our talking with the Egyptians here on the progress of the New York Four-Power talks. I have not, in fact, felt free hitherto to pass on detailed accounts of the Four-Power talks to the Egyptians, though we have all had fairly frequent general discussions at various levels in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this subject in the past. I therefore took advantage of the encouragement in your letter under reference to arm myself with the factual reports from the U.K. Mission, New York, of the Four-Power meetings (but not of course U.K. Mission's comments) and went to see yesterday Mr. Mohammed Riad, Chef de Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I approached the subject rather on the same lines as I had approached the Minister on the question of Chieftains for Libya (my telegrams nos. 472 and 473, especially paragraph 4 of 472), saying that I hoped to enlarge and deepen the scope of my personal contacts with him and the Minister on various subjects of mutual interest, including the Four-Power talks.

2. Mr. Mohammed Riad said that as both he and his Minister had been away in Dar es Salaam for a week, they had neither of them read themselves back into the Four-Power talks and therefore he had not really very much to discuss. This being so, I decided not to pass on to him any of the accounts given in U.K. Mission's telegrams of the meetings of the deputies but merely to let him see the interim report of the deputies to the Four (U.K. Mission telegram no. 854). He expressed gratification for this and at the prospect of further conversations and said he would let me

/know

G. G. Arthur Esq., C.M.G.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London, S.W.1.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

know when he had re-briefed himself so that we could discuss the matter again.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Fred Warner in New York.

Yours ever
R. A. Beaumont

(R. A. Beaumont)